

Message Text

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PAGE 01 PEKING 00345 040423Z

17

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AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 345

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJECT: YAO WEN-YUAN WRITES ON LIN PIAO AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

REF: PEKING 319

1. IN AN AUTHORITATIVE RED FLAG ARTICLE WRITTEN BY POLITBURO MEMBER YAO WEN-YUAN, THE PRC LEADERSHIP HAS PROVIDED A THEORETICAL RATIONALE FOR THE LIN PIAO AFFAIR AND SET THE BASIC GUIDELINES FOR CARRYING OUT THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN FOR STUDY OF THE PRO-

LETARIAN DICTATORSHIP. YAO, OF COURSE, IS BEST KNOWN FOR HIS 1965 ARTICLE

THAT PROVED TO BE THE OPENING SHOT IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND HIS FIERY ARTICLES DURING THAT UPHEAVAL. IN THIS, HIS FIRST MAJOR SIGNED ARTICLE IN YEARS, YAO APPEARS TO BE STANDING IN FOR MAO TSE-TUNG IN ELABORATING ON THE BASIC FORCES IN SOCIETY WHICH LED TO THE LIN

PIAO AFFAIR AND WHICH POSE A CONTINUING THREAT OF REVISIONISM AND RESTORATION OF THE BOURGEOISE TO POWER IN CHINA.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 PEKING 00345 040423Z

2. IN THE ARTICLE ENTITLED "ON THE SOCIAL BASE OF THE LIN PIAO ANTI-PARTY CLIQUE" (CARRIED IN PEOPLE'S DAILY OF MARCH 1), LIN PIAO IS CHARACTERIZED AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE DEFEATED LANDLORD CAPITALIST CLASS WHO SOUGHT A RESTORATION OF THEIR STATUS. THIS ROLE, YAO SAYS, IS "RELATIVELY CLEAR." WHAT NOW REQUIRES FURTHER STUDY ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE ARE THE "NEWLY PRODUCED CAPITALIST ELEMENTS" IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY. THESE TOO WERE A PRODUCT OF LINPIAO'S LINE, AND SOME MEMBERS OF HIS CLIQUE INCLUDING HIS SON LIN LI-KUO ARE SAID TO HAVE BEEN AMONG THESE ELEMENTS. THESE PEOPLE CAME TO THE FORE BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUATION OF "BOURGEOIS RIGHTS" IN CHINA, A THEME DEVELOPED AT LENGTH IN THE PAST MONTH IN THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP CAMPAIGN.

3. THE VESTIGES OF BOURGEOIS SOCIETY -- DIFFERENCES IN WAGE SCALES, OWNERSHIP RIGHTS, ETC.-- IN CHINA WILL, OF COURSE, EVENTUALLY BE ELIMINATED IN ACCORDANCE WITH COMMUNIST DOGMAN, BUT ON THE CRITICAL QUESTION OF TIMING, YAO EMPHASIZES THAT THEY WILL BE RESTRICTED GRADUALLY OVER A LONG PERIOD WITH COMPLETE ELIMINATION TO TAKE SEVERAL GENERATIONS. THE MORE IMPORTANT PROBLEM FOR YAO APPAR-

ENTLY IS TO AVOID BACKSLIDING. HE NOTES THE NEED TO GUARD AGAINST ANY RESTORATION OF RIGHTS PREVIOUSLY ELIMINATED AND SINGLES OUT MAY 7 CADRE SCHOOLS AND THE YOUTH TO THE COUNTRYSIDE PROGRAM FOR SPECIFIC ENDORSEMENT. USING MATERIAL INCENTIVES TO SPUR PRODUCTION IS LINKED TO LIN PIAO'S SUPPOSED PLOT TO WIDEN THE GAP AMONG WORKERS, CORRUPT THEM, AND SPLIT THE WORKING CLASS. THIS UNDERLINES A MAJOR THEME IN THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP CAMPAIGN THAT INCREASES IN MATERIAL INCENTIVES WILL NOT BE TOLERATED.

4. GUIDLINES GIVEN FOR CARRYING OUT THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN EMPHASIZE STUDY

OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOTSETUNG THOUGHT TO GUARD AGAINST CAPITALIST TENDENCIES WITH CRITICISM OF PERSONS WHO GET OUT OF LINE TO BE CARRIED OUT UNDER THE "UNITY-CRITICISM-UNITY" RUBRIC. PERSONS DEEPLY MIRE IN BOURGEOIS THINKING ARE TO BE SHARPLY TOLD TO GET BACK INTO THE FOLD. LEST ANYONE CONFUSE THE NEED FOR CRITICISM WITH A CALL FOR DISRUPTION, YAO FOLLOWS IT WITH A STRONG DEMAND FOR CONSOLIDATION OF THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP, PROMOTION OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION (I.E. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT),
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 PEKING 00345 040423Z

AND PROMOTION OF STABILITY AND UNITY IN THE ENTIRE COUNTRY.

5. COMMENT: PEKING'S HANDLING OF THIS ARTICLE, FIRST ANNOUNCED AS THE FEATURED ITEM IN THE THIRD ISSUE OF RED FLAG, BROADCAST NATIONWIDE FULL TEXT ON MARCH 1 AND CARRIED THE SAME DAY ON THE FRONT PAGE OF PEOPLE'S DAILY, LEAVES NO DOUBT THAT IT IS A MAJOR THEORETICAL DOCUMENT TO BE STUDIED AT ALL LEVELS IN THE PRC. THE FACT THAT THE ARTICLE IS SIGNED BY YAO WEN-YUAN, GENERALLY

ASSOCIATED WITH RADICAL ELEMENTS OF THE PARTY, MAY BE INTENDED TO
SIGNAL THAT THE LEADERSHIP IS UNITED BEHIND A GRADUALIST APPROACH TO
FURTHER RESTRICTIONS OF "BOURGEOIS RIGHTS" AND STRICTURES
AGAINST MEASURES WHICH COULD BE INTERPRETED AS BACKSLIDING.
YAO'S ARTICLE ALSO STRENGTHENS ASSUMPTIONS IN REFTEL THAT AN
IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP CAMPAIGN IS AN
EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE OLD QUESTION: "HOW CAN CHINA HAVE AN
ACCELERATED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM LIKE THE ONE CALLED FOR
IN CHOU EN-LAI'S NPC REPORT WITHOUT USING SCARCE RESOURCES ON
INCREASED MATERIAL INCENTIVES OR SLIPPING INTO A "REVISIONIST" THINKING

IN IDEOLOGY?
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